

PALESTINE PERSPECTIVES

Palestine Research and Educational Center

June/July 1984



ALEX LEVAC—HADASHOT

PALESTINIAN PRISONER MOMENTS BEFORE HIS MURDER BY ISRAELI INTERROGATORS

(Story on page 7)

Editorial Editorial Editorial

THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

Once upon a time, when the United Nations was a European club and before it became an international forum, the Zionist movement worked hard to "internationalize" the question of Palestine. The result was that 33 votes in the General Assembly, on November 29, 1947, were sanctified as "the opinion of mankind", and were used to justify the Zionist usurpation of Palestine and the establishment of the state of Israel. Today, the state of Israel, with full and sole support of the United States is working very hard to deny the international community the right to be involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

During the past decade, Israel encouraged the United States to pursue a Middle Eastern policy which made the United States a full-fledged partner in Israel's aggression against the Arab people and the underwriter of its ambitions. Furthermore, it made the United States a fence against international attempts to contain and mediate the Arab-Israeli conflict. The United States battled against all attempts to defuse and resolve the conflict, even when they were made by its European allies. It reneged on the U.S.-Soviet declaration of 1977, it threatened to veto any attempt to amend Security Council resolution 242, it consistently joined Israel in deviating from the international consensus expressed by numerous U.N. resolutions, it opposed the French-Egyptian initiative, it boycotted the 1983 U.S. Conference on Palestine, it scolded the European Economic Community for its Venice Declaration of 1980, it rejected the resolutions of the Arab summit conference at Fez in the fall

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818 18th Street, NW, Suite 645
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Telephone: (202) 466-3205

Editor: Dr. Muhammad Hallaj
Assistant Editor: Khalil Jahshan
Production Manager: Foster K. Tucker

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of 1982, and now it mocks Yasser Arafat's initiative calling for a negotiated Arab-Israeli peace under U.N. auspices, which is supported by the U.N. Secretary-General and most members of the international organization.

One is compelled to ask: What does the United States government want? In spite of its protestations that it seeks a negotiated Arab-Israeli peace, everything the U.S. government does is calculated to impose an Israeli *dictat* on the region. By supplying and financing an enormous Israeli war machine, by seeing to it that Arab military capabilities remain within limits acceptable to Israel, and by monopolizing the management of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the U.S. government is striving to impose a *pax Israelica* on the Arab world. By doing so, it has become the major obstacle to peace in the Middle East.

The United States is not entitled to pat itself on the back for siring a "peace treaty" between Israel and Egypt, whose greatest impact and most obvious consequence has been to preclude comprehensive peace. There have been more armed clashes and more casualties and destruction since Camp David's dubious miracle than before. Instead of containing the Arab-Israeli conflict, it broke down its traditional boundaries and unleashed it with a new fury.

Once upon a time, the Arabs were among the best friends of America. It was an Arab country (Morocco) which was the first in the world to recognize the infant United States of America and to welcome it to the community of independent nations. And when the League of Nations created the mandate system after WWI, the Palestinian and Syrian people asked that America be appointed as the mandatory power, because they had faith in its commitment to the right of peoples to self-determination.

Then Israel came and blindfolded America's conscience. It devoted, through Israel, much of its energies and resources to the inglorious and self-defeating task of bullying the Palestinians and intimidating anyone who betrayed sympathy for their plight.

The United States is entitled, of course, to pursue any policy it chooses in the Middle East. What it is not entitled to is to expect gratitude from the victims of its policy. □

M. Hallaj



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RELIGIOUS LAW AND APARTHEID IN ISRAEL

Amnon Rubinstein

(One of the most sinister and least familiar aspects of Israeli anti-Arab racism is the fact that, in addition to being based on law and practice, it is also rooted in religious dogma. Many Israeli rabbis interpret Jewish religious law to justify the oppression and dispossession of the Palestinian people. Some rabbis have gone as far as to sanction genocide against them. Professor Israel Shahak of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem called it biblically-justified genocide.)

The following are excerpts from an article by Amnon Rubinstein, member of Israel's Knesset, in which he warns against the consequence of this exploitation of Jewish religion for political ends. The article was translated by Al-Fajr newspaper (Jerusalem) from the Hebrew-language daily, Ha'aretz of 10 December 1983):

One weeknight the Israeli public saw an Israeli rabbi explaining on television—conveniently and with nice words—why *halacha* (Jewish religious law) orders the introduction of an apartheid regime in Israel, and why the Bible orders distinctions between Jews and non-Jews. This apartheid is made imperative by the need not to mix with (non-Jews)...in order not to learn their way (of life) and intermarry. So the rabbi, acting for the Torah and Halachaic Institute which he heads, went to the housing ministry and requested it to issue suitable regulations so that Jews and non-Jews would not need to live in the same neighborhood.

Rabbi Eliezer Waldenberg, winner of the 1976 Israel Prize, is not satisfied with separation between Jews and Arabs: he demands "expelling the *goyim* (nations, used to mean gentiles or non-Jews) from Jerusalem"—and this apparently includes their expulsion from the Islamic and Christian holy places, "to purify it totally." What is requested in Jerusalem by the respected rabbi is requested by a teacher, an inhabitant of Kedumim settlement, writing in *Nekuda* (Point), the official organ of the Jewish Settlement Council in the West Bank, for the whole of the country. In his opinion, "There is no land for the Arabs in this country" and therefore we must "encourage them to leave here"...before we are forced "to put the Arabs on buses."

These aren't exceptional expressions nowadays. After armed Jews murdered an 11-year-old girl in Nablus and attempted to murder her sister, the settlers in Elon Moreh responded to the police's attempt to search for suspects by ignoring the investigators, with placards slandering the police calling them "Ishma'il Police" and "Nazis." Harming Arabs is not unacceptable. When those famous unknown people attempted to assassinate the mayors of Nablus and Ramallah, MK Rabbi Haim Druckman responded, "So all of your enemies should be gone, Israel."

I hesitate to put on paper everything being written by rabbis these days. It is enough for me to mention that infamous article that a rabbi published in the students' organ of the (religious Jewish) Bar Ilan University under the headline "The Order of Genocide in the Torah." Yes. Yes. This is not a printing mistake. The respected rabbi orders us to commit genocide against the modern 'Amalek. No reservations, no editorial comment were added to these contemptuous words. And when former chief of staff Rafael Eitan actually annulled the sentence of the murderers of Arab



citizens—out of loyalty to a worldview that maintains that a "good Arab is a dead Arab"—he was given a lot of support by Gush Emunim rabbis and nowadays he is the hero of the whole national camp.

We are confronted, therefore, by a whole set-up that is aimed at giving over the halachaic establishment to a regime that upholds racial separation, expulsion of non-Jews, and even justification for killing Arab citizens. One who belittles the significance of this terrifying set-up ignores the process accompanying its birth: first came words, then silence and acceptance and finally deeds.

I ask myself whether a Jew can write that the Bible orders genocide and remain, essentially, by value, a Jew; what is the Jewishness of those who nowadays preach that we'll do to others all that is hated by Jews in every other place? Is it a Jew who enters armed into Nablus and murders a little girl in cold blood even if he puts on *tefilin* every day, even if he observes the easiest and the most difficult *mitzvot* (Jewish religious injunctions).

And I ask myself how Jews in the diaspora will respond, hearing the poisonous words of these new Jews. Here is that rabbi from Mazkereth Batyah who spoke this week about the need to separate us and them. If his *halacha* is correct here, certainly it is right in the diaspora. *Halacha*, apparently, is universal and if the separation is demanded here, it is also demanded in the diaspora. What does the televised rabbi, therefore, propose to diaspora Jews? He proposes they cancel all they fought for and return to the ghettos. And how would the Jews respond if a Christian clergyman said publicly the same thing about them, and based the need for separation between them and the *goyim* on theological arguments? Wouldn't we say he is an anti-Semite? However, can a Jew be an anti-Semite? Can a Jew be the opposite of all that is identified with the human tradition of their people? □



ALEX LEVAC-HADASHOT



ABBA EBAN: ISRAEL GRIPPED BY INTOXICATED FANTASIES

(The following excerpt is from an article by Abba Eban, Israel's former foreign minister, which appeared in The Jerusalem Post of 13 February 1984. In the article, Abba Eban argues that Israel has lost the capacity to distinguish between fact and fantasy, and that nothing has to stand the test of rationality):

For several years we have been gripped by intoxicated fantasies. The psychological mood which dominated the country's economic life had its counterpart in public attitudes towards regional and international politics. The theme was that everything was possible; nothing had to stand the test of rationality. If it was possible for citizens to quadruple their income in a single year without themselves having brought a single new dollar into the national economy; if an atmosphere of expanding consumption could be maintained without any corresponding growth of the national product; if the stock market could replace the farm and factory as the central arena of economic preoccupation—why should not similar visions of unreality be indulged in matters of security and diplomacy as well?

Ideas so preposterous as to lie beyond the domain of reason became canonized in public policy and were celebrated in some of the media. A million and a quarter Palestinians, universally recognized as a distinctive "people," could be permanently held in a coercive Israeli jurisdiction. The Camp David accords and Resolution 242 could be "interpreted" as authorizing a hundred percent Israeli control of all the populations and territories between the River Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea. Peace which had been achieved with Egypt by giving up everything could be obtained with Jordan and the Palestinians by giving up nothing. A few thousand Jewish families, endowed with the full rights of Israeli law, could be encouraged to live in the midst of hostile Arab populations which are totally subjected to unrestricted military rule—and this condition could be described as "Zionist fulfillment." A military drive deep into Beirut and beyond would be an effective way of saving Israeli lives against the depredations of the PLO. A Christian-Phalangist regime could be established with Israeli support and would be able to unite and stabilize Lebanon, procure the withdrawal of Syrian forces and conclude an effective peace treaty with Israel. A strike at Syrian missiles in the Bekaa valley would weaken Syrian influence militarily and politically and make Israel a more decisive influence than Syria in determining the future of Lebanon. The expulsion of a few thousand Palestinians from Beirut would eliminate the PLO as an effective actor in Middle Eastern politics and encourage Jordan and West Bank Arabs to negotiate with Israel on Israel's terms. The Lebanese war was presented not as a local security measure, but as a Grand Design with repercussions favourable to Western interests in the global balance. □

THE ROOTS OF TERROR

By Roy Isacowitz

Government leaders are keeping a careful balance between their denunciations of the attempt to bomb Arab buses in Jerusalem recently and their warnings that not all West Bank settlers should be stigmatized by the actions of the few. True to the spirit of the law, our leaders have cautioned that those arrested cannot be considered guilty until found to be so by the courts.

Their delicacy is touching. The houses of those arrested will presumably not be blown up as have the houses of suspected Arab terrorists prior to their being convicted in court.

The arrests are undoubtedly an embarrassment to the government encompassing as they do the cream of settler society. The government can be expected to downplay the entire affair and distance itself from those arrested, portraying them as some sort of lunatic fringe.

But the people who attempted to blow up the Arab buses are not "good boys gone wrong." They are not the bad apples in the cart, but the tastiest, freshest apples of them all.

In a longer view of things, the latest act of terror is yet another demonstration of the damage done to Israel by the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. The occupation is a cancer: insidiously it perverts and corrupts until one day we wake up and find ourselves putrid.

For those who still insist on seeing the bus sabotage attempt as the isolated act of a mad minority, that day has yet to come.

When the government debases the law by treating Arabs and Jews on the West Bank unequally, how can it expect the settlers—not to mention the rest of the population—to have any respect for that law?

For almost 17 years we have played the role of occupier—and we have begun to like it. We have refused to acknowledge the brutalizing effect the occupation has had on us, and how it has been manifested in almost every aspect of our daily lives. □

The Jerusalem Post
6-13 May 1984

PUBLICATIONS

from

Palestine Research and Educational Center

- Muhammad Hallaj, *The Palestinians and the PLO*. Information Papers Series, No. 1, September 1983. \$1.00
- Alfred T. Moleah, *Israel and South Africa: Partners in Repression*. Information Papers Series, No. 2, January 1984. \$1.00
- Yehoshua Sobol, *You Can Only Weep*. Life Under Occupation Series, No. 1, September 1983. Free
- Avigdor Feldman, *The West Bank: Oppression by Law*. Life Under Occupation Series, No. 2, January 1984. Free

On May 5, Chairman Yasser Arafat headed a Palestinian delegation on an official 3-day visit to the People's Republic of China. During the visit, Mr. Arafat met Chinese government leaders who reaffirmed China's support for Palestinian national rights and for the PLO as the national leadership of the Palestinian people. Following are excerpts from Mr. Arafat's speech during a reception in his honor hosted by Mr. Zhao Ziyang, the Prime Minister of China:

The General Situation

We are going through critical times. The conspiracies intensify against our people and their cause and leadership. Israel's invasion of Lebanon is a part of a larger design to Balkanize the Arab world and to transform it into sectarian statelets on the Israeli model.

The PLO

Our relations with all states are determined on the basis of their respect for the independence of Palestinian decision-making and their support for the PLO. This is the only way to preserve the PLO as an independent Palestinian organization which articulates the will and aspirations of the Palestinian people.

U.S. Policy

Israel cannot pursue its aggressive policy without the limitless support it receives from the United States. By denying the Palestinian people's national rights, including the right to self-determination, and by refusing to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the United States has chosen to be in the same trench with Israel.

The Occupied Territories

The Palestinian people in the occupied territories face a serious threat. Their land and water resources are being confiscated; they live under oppressive laws; they are threatened by a demographic transformation; and their holy places are being desecrated.

Our people in the occupied territories, like other peoples, aspire to live in peace in the land of peace, Palestine.

International Conference

The PLO supports any solution which ensures for the Palestinian people their inalienable national rights, including their right of return, self-determination and independent statehood in Palestine. These rights are recognized and supported by the world community and international legitimacy represented by the United Nations. The PLO calls for an international conference under the flag of the United Nations, to be attended by the five permanent members of the Security Council as well as the parties to the conflict, in order to reach a just and comprehensive peace.

Any settlement which does not realize for our people their national rights will only bring more destruction and sorrow to a region long deprived of peace and stability.□

(See page 14 for a report on the idea of convening an international peace conference.)



PLO 20TH ANNIVERSARY

May 26 is the 20th anniversary of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which was established in Jerusalem in 1964. *Falestine Althawra*, the Arabic-language weekly magazine of the PLO, editorialized on this occasion by saying that during these twenty years of Palestinian tragedy and heroism, the Palestinian people were able to rebuild their national political identity and to construct the means of its defense.

The editorial continued: "Our Palestinian people today recollect these twenty years, day after day, and event after event. They recollect all that they experienced at the hands of their tormentors: death, terror, expulsion, repression, pain, deprivation and discrimination. They also recollect the heroism, the sacrifice, the victories, the martyrs, and the iron will to continue their struggle and to persevere in their defiance."

The magazine said that although it was the Arab states which decided the establishment of the PLO in order to contain the Palestinian revolutionary resurgence at that time, Fateh entered the PLO and used its considerable weight as a Palestinian revolutionary movement to make the PLO into the appropriate framework for Palestinian nationalism that it is today. It is not surprising, the magazine continued, that the 20th anniversary of the PLO comes in the midst of a struggle to safeguard the independence of the Palestinian will, and to protect the independence of Palestinian decision-making.□

ARAFAT ADDRESSES ICO

The Islamic Conference Organization (ICO) Good Offices Committee held a preparatory meeting at the ambassadorial level in Jidda, Saudi Arabia, to discuss the escalating war between Iraq and Iran. The meeting was attended by PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, ICO Secretary General Habib Chatti and the ambassadors of Turkey, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Guinea, Senegal and Gambia.

Chairman Arafat addressed the committee stressing the importance of the meeting in view of the dangerous developments in the Gulf region caused by serious escalations in the Iran-Iraq war which was threatening an international intervention in the region. Arafat said the Islamic and Arab nations were paying a price for the continuation of that conflict. The Palestinian leader appealed to Iran and Iraq to put an end to bloodshed and stop fighting each other. He further confirmed that mediation of the four-year-old war will continue in June as the committee resumes its deliberations at the level of the heads of state.

ICO Secretary General Chatti announced that a new Palestinian initiative to reach an end to the state of war between Iran and Iraq will be presented at the upcoming meeting of the committee.□



PALESTINIAN NATIONAL FUND MEETING

The Board of Directors of the Palestinian National Fund met recently in Amman to discuss the financial situation of PLO institutions and departments and to reshuffle commitments in light of the present financial situation. Officials stressed the urgent need to cover the expenses entailed by the redistribution of PLO forces and institutions in several Arab countries.

High-ranking Palestinian administrators emphasized the need to bolster the fund's revenues, and called on concerned Arab countries to settle their commitments to the fund. The Board of Directors voted to increase allocations to Palestinian institutions which support the families and dependents of martyrs and detainees whose numbers have increased as a result of the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the expulsion of thousands of Palestinians from the areas occupied by Israel.

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat who was visiting Jordan at the time participated in the deliberations of the PNF. □

RECENT BOOKS

Several new books, recently published in the United States and Britain, are worth reading by people concerned with the Palestinians and the Arab-Israeli conflict. *Palestine Perspectives* recommends the following books to its readers:

- Naseer H. Aruri, ed., *Occupation: Israel Over Palestine*. Belmont, Massachusetts: AAUG Press, 1983.
- Meron Benvenisti, *The West Bank Data Project: A Survey of Israel's Policies*. Washington: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1984.
- Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of Dictators*. Westport, Connecticut: Lawrence Hill (and London: Croom Helm), 1983.
- Noam Chomsky, *The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians*. Boston: South End Press, 1983.
- Helena Cobban, *The Palestinian Liberation Organization: People, Power and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht, *The Fate of the Jews: A People Torn Between Israeli Power and Jewish Ethics*. New York: New York Times Books, 1983.
- Stephen Green, *Taking Sides: America's Secret Relations with a Militant Israel*. New York: William Morrow, 1984.
- Amnon Kapeliouk, *Sabra & Shatila: Inquiry into a Massacre*. Translated and edited by Khalil Jahshan. Belmont, Massachusetts: AAUG Press, 1984.
- Donald Neff, *Warriors for Jerusalem: The Six Days that Changed the Middle East*. New York: Linden Press/Simon & Schuster, 1984.

FATEH CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIQUE

The Central Committee of Fateh concluded a five-day session which it held in the Tunisian capital between May 31 and June 4. The series of meetings dealt with the internal situation in Fateh as well as the overall Palestinian political situation.

Regarding internal matters, the Central Committee established a number of subcommittees from among its members to study the reorganization and effectiveness of Fateh's military and civilian structures. It also discussed the situation of the Palestinian people in occupied Palestine and Lebanon, and adopted resolutions regarding the support of the people in the occupied territories and the protection of the refugee camps in Lebanon in cooperation with the Lebanese National Movement.

The Central Committee also reviewed the progress of the dialogue with other Palestinian organizations to ensure Palestinian unity and independence. It discussed the report of the Fateh delegation to the Algiers and Aden meetings with the PFLP and the DFLP, and it approved guidelines for future meetings based on the Palestine National Council resolutions adopted during its 16th session in Algiers in 1983. The Central Committee reaffirmed its commitment to the success of the ongoing Palestinian dialogue to make possible the speedy convening of the coming PNC session.

The Committee expressed gratification for the results of Mr. Arafat's recent visits to the Soviet Union and China, and supported Soviet efforts to mediate Palestinian-Syrian disagreements.

Finally, the Central Committee commended Chairman Arafat's role in the mediation of the Gulf war between Iran and Iraq. It deplored the continuation of this destructive war, and studied its repercussions on the struggle against Zionism. The Committee called for the need to continue the effort to mediate the conflict in the hope of putting an end to this tragic war. □

AL-FAJR JERUSALEM PALESTINIAN WEEKLY



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ANALYSIS...

ISRAEL'S AGONY OVER TERRORISM

On April 27, a massacre was barely avoided when Israeli security forces discovered explosive devices planted on five Arab-owned civilian buses in Jerusalem. The bombs were set to explode during rush hour on Friday, which marked the Muslim holiday of *al-Isra' wal-Mi'raj*. Security experts estimate that more than 300 people could have been killed and injured.

Subsequently, some twenty Jewish terrorists were arrested in connection with a long list of terrorist acts committed against Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories. In addition to the planting of bombs in the Arab buses, the detainees have also admitted their participation in the June 1980 attempt to assassinate three mayors on the West Bank and the July 1983 machine gun assault on the Islamic College in Hebron in which 3 people were killed and 33 wounded, in addition to scores of other attacks against innocent civilians and holy shrines of Christianity and Islam.

The American press was quick to launch another campaign in praise of Israeli democracy and "even-handed justice." Similar to the campaign witnessed after the release of the report of the Israeli Commission of Inquiry into the Massacre of Sabra and Shatila, the American reader was treated to such headlines: "Israeli Democracy Foils Jewish Terrorists" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 3, 1984), and "Israel Foils Its Own Extremists" (*New York Times*, May 2, 1984). As if to portray Israel as the victim, the *Los Angeles Times* (May 2, 1984) topped it all with the headline: "Israel's Agony Over Terrorism." Not even one U.S. newspaper wrote about the agony of the real victim and target of Jewish terrorism, the Palestinians living under Israeli occupation.

Judging from past Israeli behavior, we are not encouraged by the arrest of some members of the Jewish terrorist gangs nor are we comforted by their admission and subsequent indictment. Israel has always sheltered rather than punished Israeli murderers of Palestinians. Consider the following cases:

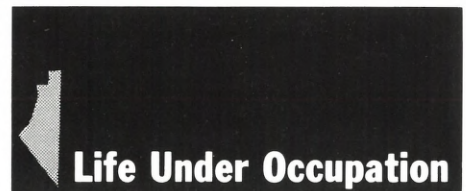
1. Daniel Pinto is an Israeli officer who was found guilty of killing and blowing up two civilian prisoners during the Israeli offensive in Lebanon in March 1978. However, former chief of staff, Rafael Eitan, overruled the court and ordered his release.

2. October 29, 1956: On the eve of the British, French and Israeli invasion of Egypt, an Israeli Border Police unit massacred forty-nine "Israeli-Arabs," including seven young boys and girls and nine women in the village of Kufur Qassim. They were returning from the fields outside the village and thus were unaware that a curfew was imposed by the Israeli authorities. After the incident was publicized, eleven Israeli officers and soldiers were tried for "carrying out illegal orders." Several Israeli officers and soldiers received prison sentences ranging from 8 to 17 years. The sentences were appealed to the Supreme Military Court which found them too harsh and ordered their reduction. Subsequently, the Chief of Staff, the President of Israel and the Committee for the Release of Prisoners reduced the sentences even further by commuting to 3.5 years the longest penalty served for the murder of 49 innocent people.

It was later revealed that battalion commander, Brigadier Yshishkar Shadmi, ordered Melinki to carry out the massacre. After lengthy political maneuvering, Shadmi appeared before military court, and by Israeli legal standards, was found guilty of a "technical error." The Israeli court sentenced him to a reprimand and a fine of one Israeli piaster (penny)! This is the essence of Israeli justice: 49 Arab lives are worth "Shadmi's piaster."

3. The same farce was played after the massacre of Sabra and Shatila (September 16-18, 1982). Israeli military commanders who admitted or implicated each other before the Kahan Commission of having ordered the Phalangist entry into the camps to "mop-up" the area have been found guilty of "bad judgment" in a catastrophe that cost thousands of Lebanese and Palestinian lives, between those massacred and others who simply

(continued on page 7)



ISRAEL ESCALATES CONFRONTATION WITH WEST BANK CHILDREN

The Israeli military government of the occupied West Bank decreed a punishment of up to 20 years in prison for the crime of throwing a stone at a passing vehicle. The intended victims of this new military decree are the children of the West Bank, usually in their early teens and younger, whose only way of expressing their opposition to Israeli occupation and settlement is to stone passing army and settlers' vehicles.

Until now, Israeli military courts handed out maximum sentences of 18 months in prison, plus fines, for such offenses. The new decree, Military Order No. 1108, increases the maximum penalty to 20 years in prison. Moreover, as the *Jerusalem Post* of 3-10 June 1984 reported, the new military order "makes the work of the military prosecutor far easier in that he no longer has to prove the actual result of the rockthrowing or who specifically among several defendants was responsible for the result." This aspect of the order will obviously facilitate collective punishment. Following is the text of Military Order 1108:

"Whoever throws an object, including a rock:

1) **In a manner that strikes or is apt to strike traffic on transport route may be sentenced to 10 years in prison.**

2) **Towards a person or property with the intention of striking the person or property may be sentenced to 10 years in prison.**

3) **Towards a moving vehicle with the intention of striking it or a person travelling in it may be sentenced to 20 years in prison."** □

THE ZOREA' COMMISSION: PALESTINIAN PRISONERS MURDERED

On April 12, 1984, four Palestinian youths from the Gaza Strip took control of an Israeli passenger bus, held the passengers hostage, and threatened to blow up the bus unless the Israeli authorities released a list of 30 Palestinian political prisoners. The Israeli armed forces stormed the bus, killing two of the hijackers and an Israeli passenger, eight other passengers were injured. The two surviving Palestinians were captured and led away by Israeli soldiers. Israeli officials announced that the prisoners died on their way to the hospital as a result of injuries received during their capture. However, the Israeli newspaper *Hadashot* published a picture of the Palestinian prisoners being led away from the scene without any visible sign of injury. Accusations were raised that Israeli soldiers murdered both prisoners while torturing them during interrogation. The families of the victims confirmed that their bodies were mutilated, one missing his eyes.

After a two-week delay, under public and international pressure, Defense Minister Moshe Arens appointed a special military commission to investigate the incident. The Commission was headed by Major General (Reserves) Me'ir Zorea'. The report of the Zorea' Commission was classified "top secret" because of various details that appear in it. However, its findings and conclusions confirm the following:

1) Two of the four hijackers were taken off the bus alive and well by Israeli security forces.

2) The two Palestinian prisoners were killed after their capture while undergoing interrogation by Israeli security personnel in the vicinity of the incident.

3) The victims were severely beaten by Israeli officers who were on the spot. They died of skull fractures as a result of blows to the head with a blunt instrument.

4) The commission findings raise the suspicion that felonies were committed by several security officers and recommend further investigation to determine legal steps against the guilty parties.

Israeli politicians and commentators were quick to praise Mr. Arens

ANALYSIS (continued from page 5)

vanished. The Israeli commander in Beirut, Amos Yaron, who was informed of the massacre and failed to stop it was even promoted to his present job as chief of the Manpower Division in the Israeli General Command. Not one Israeli public official, soldier or officer spent a day in prison.

On the basis of this miserable Israeli record we cannot sympathize with "Israel's agony over terrorism," for it is the direct outcome of Israeli official policies of oppression and dehumanization of the Palestinian people. A government led by political figures who tolerate and protect Jewish terrorists as illustrated by the Karp Report, and classify people as "two-legged animals" and "poisoned cockroaches in a bottle" and extol the "positive effects" of assassination attempts against Palestinian mayors, should not be surprised when the settlers of Gush Emunim emulate them by resorting to individual acts of terrorism which they view as a legitimate supplement to state-sponsored terror against the Palestinians. It is Israeli official policies and practices in the occupied territories which have created a climate that condones and breeds murder and violence in order to maintain the present system of control and to prevent the return of Arab sovereignty to the area.

The detained Jewish terrorists who include high-ranking officers in the Israeli armed forces and well-known activists in the Jewish settlement movement are not a small lunatic fringe on the periphery of Israeli society as they are often portrayed. Instead, they are the natural by-product of an Israeli socio-political system based on exclusivism, racism and total disregard for human life other than that of Jews. The phenomenon of Jewish terrorism is not an aberration, it is a symptom of a political illness. This should be the real cause of agony for Israel and its supporters. □

ARENS WAS THERE



Two consecutive photo frames showing Arens at the scene of the crime

for his decision to initiate the Zorea' Commission and publicize excerpts of its findings. However, some vital questions remain unanswered:

1) Although the Zorea' Commission clearly established the fact that the prisoners were bludgeoned to death while in Israeli custody, it fails to deal with the clumsy attempt of the Israeli army and the Defense Ministry to cover up the whole affair. Ran Kislev of *Ha'aretz* (30 May 1984) points out that it should not be forgotten that two full weeks went by before Arens agreed to establish an inquiry commission to examine the incident. Why did Mr. Arens

wait that long in light of the overwhelming evidence that something was amiss? Why were pictures of the Palestinian hijackers being taken into custody banned by the Israeli military censor? Why did Mr. Arens close down *Hadashot* for publishing the simple fact that a special commission had been appointed to investigate the matter?

2) Defense Minister Moshe Arens and chief of staff Moshe Levi were personally on the scene and participated in negotiating with the hijackers. Mr. Arens stated on Israeli radio (13 April 1984, 5:30 GMT) that he participated in the decision to

storm the bus and overpower the hijackers. Since Mr. Arens and Lt. Gen. Levi "personally supervised the developments at all times," according to Alon Diskin of the Israeli Armed Forces Radio, then how could they have missed the fact that two hijackers actually survived the storming operation—a fact both men personally denied for two weeks. How come both men did not supervise the investigation that took place in a tent nearby during which the prisoners were tortured and murdered? How did Mr. Arens know that the hijackers were members of al-Fateh, which he announced to the press immediately after the incident, had he not been present or briefed about the on-site investigation?

3) Mr. Arens stated on Israeli television (14 April 1984, 19:10 GMT) that "*Anyone who plans terrorist acts in Israel must realize he will not escape alive.*" Was that a statement of policy based on what just transpired during the interrogation of the Palestinian prisoners?

4) On May 29, Mr. Arens stated that "he was not present at the time of the event" (*Ha'aretz*, 30 May 1984). According to pictures taken by a *Hadashot* cameraman, Mr. Arens was standing in the area where at least one of the hijackers passed after being captured alive and well. Why did Mr. Arens lie?

5) On June 1, 1984, Maj. Gen. Moshe Bar Kochba, commander of the southern front, was reprimanded in accordance with the recommendations of the Zorea' Commission. But as shown on television screens and confirmed by Israeli officials, Mr. Arens and Gen. Levi were in charge of the operation. Why weren't they reprimanded?

6) The reprimand of the Israeli commander was based on unpublished parts of the Zorea' findings which emphasized that Bar Kochba was not in the area when the two Palestinians were killed, but as area commander, he was considered the responsible senior officer. Then who was responsible? Why weren't the identities of those involved in the crime made public? Are the guilty parties going to stand trial and pay for their offenses? When will the Israelis learn the difference between chasing scapegoats and administering justice? □

ARTIST IMPRISONED

The Israeli occupation authorities sentenced a popular Palestinian artist, Fathi Ghabin from Jabalia Refugee Camp in the Gaza Strip, to six months in prison on a charge of "incitement through his paintings." The 37-year-old artist and father of five children was also fined IS\$30,000, and an additional month in prison if he failed to pay the fine within a month. The court refused an appeal by the artist's lawyer to allow his client one week to arrange for the payment of the fine and to secure financial support for his family during the period of imprisonment. Ghabin was led directly from the military court to prison.

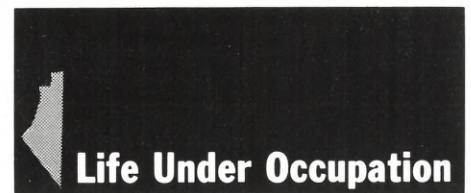
The Israeli military occupation authorities have always held that any form of political expression, even through the medium of painting, is subject to censorship and punishment. □

BZU INTENDED TARGET

Israel Radio reported on May 15 that Birzeit University was the real target of Jewish terrorists who booby-trapped six Arab buses in Jerusalem on April 17. One of the suspects being interrogated in connection with the recent wave of Jewish terrorism in the occupied territories told visiting relatives, according to the radio report, that the bomb on the bus serving Birzeit University was to be exploded by remote control by a terrorist hiding near the university.

The suspect said the five buses were also boobytrapped because the perpetrators did not know which of the buses served Birzeit University. He claimed that his group intended to alert the police after the Birzeit bus had been detonated, to enable them to dismantle the bombs on the other five buses.

The suspect explained that bombing the Birzeit bus was chosen as a method to attack the university, because it adopted security measures which made it difficult for the terrorists to invade it with firearms, as they did when they attacked the campus of Hebron University in July 1983. Three students were killed and more than thirty were wounded in the Hebron incident. □



PALESTINIAN PHOTOGRAPHY

The Arab Thought Forum in Jerusalem organized a "Palestinian Photo Exhibition: 1984" to give local Palestinian photographers an opportunity to display their art. The three-day exhibition (May 13-15) featured both professional and amateur photographers.

A photographer from Bethlehem, Nabil Da'iq, chose the women of rural Palestine for his theme. His photographs showed Palestinian village women carrying their produce and selling it in the Old City of Jerusalem. Another photographer, Emil Ashrawi from Ramallah, also chose scenes from the Palestinian village. His pictures showed a woman nursing her baby, villagers tending sheep, and old men socializing and sipping coffee.

The Arab Studies Society contributed photographs from Jerusalem's history. The collection included a view of the busy "Damascus Gate" of the Jerusalem wall in 1856. A picture of General Allenby and British troops occupying Jerusalem in 1918 was also displayed.

A Jerusalem resident, Said Husseini, selected from his family's private collection a group of photos depicting Palestinian events, including the opening of the first telegraph lines to Hebron in 1899, the Nabi Musa festival in 1903, and Palestinian Boy Scouts in 1918.

Some Palestinian institutions (the Gaza Red Crescent Society, and El-Birah In'ash al-Usra Society) participated with photographs of their activities. □



Life Under Occupation

HOSPITAL BECOMES PRISON

A hospital built by the government of Jordan just before the war of 1967 has been made into a prison by the Israeli occupation authorities. The hospital-prison is located at the western edge of Nablus in the occupied West Bank.

Another hospital, also built shortly before the 1967 war, in the northern outskirts of Jerusalem was made into an Israeli police station after the occupation of Jerusalem.

The newest prison in Nablus has room for 500 detainees. It is the second prison to be opened in Nablus during the past two years. A third prison, al-Far'a, in the Nablus area is located east of the city. □

THE GHETTOIZATION OF HEBRON

Reports from the occupied West Bank say that an Israeli plan exists to "thicken" Jewish settlement in the Palestinian city of Hebron by constructing three neighborhoods in the city for Jewish settlers to accommodate 500 additional families. The three new clusters of settlements would be connected by underground tunnels to enable their Jewish residents to interact while keeping the Arab residents segregated.

The plan also envisions the eventual expansion of the Jewish settlements inside Hebron to connect them with the settlement of Kiryat Araba. This would create a ring of Jewish settlements which would transform the Arab neighborhoods into ghettos within a Jewish environment. This ghettoization of Arab cities was done to many cities and towns occupied in 1948, such as Lydda, Ramleh, Jaffa, Acre and others. In the territories occupied in 1967, Arab Jerusalem has been surrounded by a ring of Jewish settlements. □

"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

Today in the Middle East, we have either a people too many or we are short of a state. Should we allow the extermination and the dispersion of that people or should we promote the birth of the missing state?

Afif Safieh
interview, *al-Fajr*
25 May 1984

We hold territorial compromise to be unrealistic and unavailable.

Yitzhak Shamir
Israeli Prime Minister
The Jerusalem Post
6-13 May 1984

The basic ideology [of Gush Emunim]—if one can grace outright murder by such a term—is based not only on hatred of Arabs, but also on antipathy to *goyim* in general.

Yosef Goell
The Jerusalem Post
13-20 May 1984

In furtherance of its goals, the Israeli lobby coordinates closely with Israel's embassy in Washington—so closely that some critics charge that groups like AIPAC are merely extensions of the government in Jerusalem.

Ben Bradlee, Jr.
"Israel's Lobby"
Boston Globe (magazine)
29 April 1984

In tolerating the extension of the Jewish settlements into Arab lands and in subsidizing the Israeli economy on ever-more-generous terms, . . . Washington now is perceived as Jerusalem's active ally in a policy of colonization with serious risks not only for Israel but also for the region, if not the world.

Editorial
Los Angeles Times
29 April 1984

Something terrible has happened to Israel's moral standards in the last few years. Along with the devaluation of our money we have also lost other values.

Eytan Haber
Yedi'ot Aharonot
24 April 1984

FISCHBEIN EXPOSES JNF

The former regional director of the Jewish National Fund (JNF) in Washington, D.C., accused the JNF of "legal and moral violations" in its fundraising activities on behalf of Israel. The JNF, also known as Keren Kayemet LeYisrael, raises funds in the U.S. "to purchase, develop and reclaim the land of Israel."

The *Washington Jewish Week* (19 April 1984) reported that Mr. Charles Fischbein resigned his position as director of the JNF Washington office on March 15 to become executive director of the Institute for Middle East Conflict Resolution. Mr. Fischbein was reportedly "stunned" at the fact that the JNF "is not willing to accept in good faith the actions of an individual who is working not only for the legitimate rights of the state of Israel but also on behalf of the legitimate rights of other parties in the region, including the Palestinians, who are presently deprived of a homeland." Characterizing the positions of JNF leaders as "exclusionary and racist," Fischbein said these positions are "against the precepts of equal justice and fairness inherent to the Jewish faith."

Mr. Fischbein accused the JNF of knowingly diverting funds allocated for its normal operations in land reforestation and reclamation in Israel to "purely military purposes" in the West Bank and southern Lebanon. Consequently, Fischbein joined as plaintiff in a lawsuit which demands an end to the tax-exempt status of six U.S.-based Zionist organizations, including the JNF.

According to Fischbein, the JNF is "heavily involved on the West Bank," where its bulldozers, which make up 97 percent of all bulldozers in Israel, are used "in the razing of Palestinian homes to create 'security areas.'" When it involves the Palestinian community, Fischbein said, the JNF logo, "From sand to land," has been changed to "From land to sand."

In a sworn affidavit, Fischbein testified that Israeli officials told him during a tour of southern Lebanon that JNF bulldozers "went in front of the Israeli tanks to cut roads for the Israeli army," as it advanced into Lebanon. □

COMMENTARY...

JERUSALEM: SHRINE OR ELECTION ISSUE?

The AIPAC-Moynihan-Lantos crowd have been hard at work changing Jerusalem from a shrine to a political football. Using the feverish atmosphere of an election year, they are railroading through Congress a most insensitive measure that is insolent to history, disrespectful to humanity, harmful to U.S. interests, and inimical to the prospects of peace in the Middle East.

They hoped to sneak the measure through Congress and into American statute books as a harmless procedural act to relocate the embassy of the United States and the residence of its ambassador from one city to another. But the substantive implications of the move were too great and consequential to permit such a ruse to pass unnoticed. Opposition to the Moynihan-Lantos reckless electioneering gimmick, which included widespread editorial opinion, the Reagan administration, and a large number of church and civic groups, helped slow down the congressional slide into irresponsibility.

The slide continues, nevertheless. To facilitate the passage of the AIPAC-Moynihan-Lantos bill, its sponsors now propose a deceptive "compromise" whose purpose is to convey the misleading impression that they are not totally oblivious to the voice of reason. They are pushing for the conversion of the U.S. consulate in Jerusalem to a branch embassy by linking it to the embassy in Tel Aviv. By doing so, they hope to lull the opposition without responding to their positions.

The issues involved are both serious and clear, and they cannot be ameliorated by a cosmetic overlay. The establishment of U.S. diplomatic presence in Jerusalem, in any form, would be a violation of longstanding American policy on Jerusalem, a confrontation with a world-wide consensus on the status of the holy city, and a recognition of Israel's annexation of territory occupied by force.

Israel and its American supporters, by using their clout in an election year to intimidate American legislators into sponsoring a bill which harms U.S. foreign policy, are in fact corrupting the legislative process. The proper role of the U.S. Congress is to safeguard and advance U.S. not Israeli interests. When the only argument the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives can find to express his support for Israeli policy of annexing Jerusalem is to say "they won the war, didn't they?" it is time for the American people to worry about the future of their institutions and ideals.

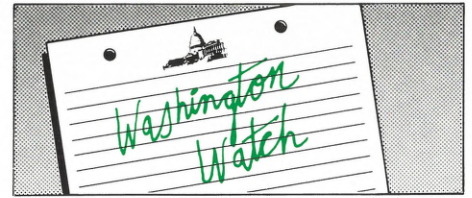
In his recent book, *The Fateful Triangle*, Professor Noam Chomsky said that the "supporters of Israel" in America should be more accurately called the "supporters of the moral degeneration" of Israel, because they give it blind support and thus encourage its excesses. Perhaps they should also be thought of as the supporters of the degeneration of American democracy. □

U.S. TO FINANCE ISRAEL FOREIGN AID

David Kimche, Director General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, stated during a recent visit to the U.S. that Israel had coordinated with the Reagan administration joint economic aid projects to be carried out throughout the Third World. Kimche admitted that such Israeli foreign aid projects will be funded by U.S. aid.

Congressman Howard L. Berman (D-CA), a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, has introduced H.R. 5424 as an amendment to the foreign assistance act authorizing an initial \$20 million for the American funding of Israeli foreign

aid projects. Under the bill's provision, Congress would have to be informed of any obligation of funds and the U.S. secretary of state would have to approve any projects. Such U.S.-Israel cooperation would enable Israel to extend technical and economic assistance to developing countries, especially in Africa and Latin America, in order to entice these countries to renew diplomatic relations with Israel. Most third world countries severed their relations with Israel in 1973 to protest Israeli occupation of Arab land and continued policies of oppression against the Palestinians. □



DR. MEHDI DEBATES RABBI KAHANE

Dr. M.T. Mehdi, the secretary-general of the Arab People to American People (New York) and Rabbi Meir Kahane, founder of the Jewish Defense League in America and leader of "Kach" rightist movement in Israel debated the Arab-Israeli conflict on Manhattan Cable Television and WHBI Radio. An American-Arab Relations Committee press release (May 23, 1984) described the encounter as "a curious mixture of civility and bloody fight."

Rabbi Kahane repeated his notorious racist slogan "the Arabs must go" and said: "I shall evict the Arabs from our land, the land of Israel." Speaking of the Arabs in occupied Palestine he said: "They have babies and babies and they will become a majority by the force of their babies if we don't get rid of them." When Dr. Mehdi asked him "What would you do if they refuse to leave?" the Rabbi explained that "we have various means at our disposal."

Dr. Mehdi said Rabbi Kahane was "the most honest of the Jewish leaders." They all believe that the Arabs must be expelled from Palestine, but only he has the *chutzpa* to say so publicly. "Our disagreement with Rabbi Kahane," Mehdi said, "is on the basic assumption whether the Jews of today have the right to occupy Palestine because three thousand years ago some Jews captured that land from the Canaanites.... To us, the assumption is absurd, stupid, racist and must be discarded by all people of common sense who are opposed to stupidity and racism." He added that the logic of Kahane's argument leads to the concept of a Jewish state without Arabs which "sounds like the pure German state without the Jews." He said "American Jews should either support Kahane or give up Zionism." □

SENATOR HELMS TOWS THE LINE

Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) is apparently being herded into line by Israel's agents in the United States. The senator, described by the *Washington Jewish Week* (May 31) as "one of Israel's most consistent foes" who "almost always votes against Israel" in the Senate, echoed Israel's wishes in a letter he sent to President Reagan on May 16. Helms, who in 1979 accused Israel of being the obstacle to peace in the Middle East by holding on to occupied Arab territories, made a U-turn and said in his letter: "We should never pursue any plan that envisions a separation of the West Bank from Israel." He also advised the president to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital.

The *Jewish Week* attributed this "new improved" Jesse Helms to the pressures of the election campaign. The paper said that the senator "is currently running for his political life." His Democratic challenger, "North Carolina's popular governor Jim Hunt, is ahead in the polls and is attracting considerable support from Israel's politically-active friends around the country."

Columnists Evans and Novak wrote in the *Washington Post* (June 6) that 60 percent of Hunt's election campaign money is coming from the Jewish community. □

NABIHA GHANDOUR EDUCATIONAL FUND

The family and friends of the late Nabiha Ghandour have established an educational fund in her memory. Contributions to the fund will be used to support educational institutions in the West Bank. Income received in 1984-85 will be donated to Birzeit University.

Dr. Ghandour passed away on April 19, 1984, only two days after she successfully defended her Ph.D. dissertation at Teachers College, Columbia University.

Donations to the Fund should be mailed to:

**The Nabiha Ghandour
Educational Fund**
116 Nassau Street, Suite 1212
New York, NY 10038
Telephone: (212) 638-1567

ISRAEL HARASSES AMERICANS OF ARAB ORIGIN

The recent Israeli arrest, interrogation and torture of an American citizen of Arab origin spotlighted a serious and persistent Israeli violation of the rights of Americans abroad. In this particular case, Mike Mansour, a 44-year-old jeweler from Albuquerque, NM, who is of Palestinian origin, was arrested by the Israeli authorities during a recent visit to his ailing mother in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. Mansour was detained for 22 days, interrogated, threatened, denied medications for a heart condition and suffered a heart attack, then released after being forced to sign a "confession" written in Hebrew, a language he does not understand.

Just before his release, Mansour was warned by his Israeli jailers not to tell anyone about his ordeal. We have people in Albuquerque, the Israelis warned him, "we can do anything." But he is talking, not only about his own ordeal, but the ordeal of the many Palestinian political prisoners in Israel's torture factories (see *Palestine Perspectives*, May 1984, p. 8, on Far'a prison). In an affidavit released by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), Mansour said: "I care about these prisoners. It's important that I do something about what I saw. Otherwise, it was all a waste."

The ADC's statement shows that the harassment of Americans of Arab origin is a matter of routine in Israel. Those who are not detained and tortured, like Mike Mansour, are harassed in other ways. ADC listed the following procedures, based on accounts it gathered from Arab-Americans who visited Israel and the occupied territories:

- **segregation from non-Arab airline passengers into isolated vans upon their arrival in Tel Aviv's airport;**
- **strip searches for both men and women and luggage completely taken apart and dumped;**
- **interrogation and unusually long customs checks lasting up to three hours;**
- **surveillance by Israeli military authorities at the homes of relatives and friends;**
- **arbitrarily imposed and exorbitant**

JACKSON: ISRAELI-SOUTH AFRICAN TIES ARE THE REAL ISSUE

Presidential candidate Jesse Jackson charged that his opponents continue to use the "Hymie" issue as a diversionary tactic to prevent discussion of important issues such as Israel's ties to the racist regime in South Africa. He was speaking on a Public Broadcasting System call-in program in Newark, N.J.

Jackson said: "As we subsidize Israel, they are in fact selling arms to South Africa, and they (the South Africans) are using those arms to shoot down and oppress black people there." He also charged that Israel is helping South Africa circumvent international economic sanctions. South Africa, he said, "sells diamonds to Israel that are being sold by Israel all over the world."

Jackson challenged the view that Israel is all that America needs in the Middle East. He said that even with the large military aid the U.S. gives it, Israel is unable to help the U.S. in the current crisis in the Gulf. This fact demonstrates, he concluded, that the U.S. needs other allies in the Middle East. □

customs fees for goods brought in as gifts;

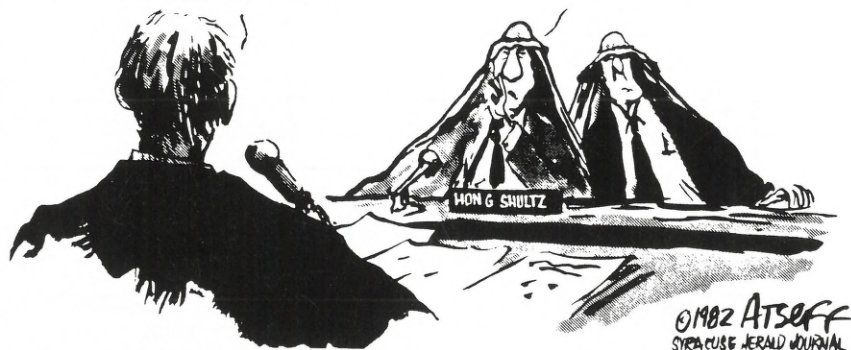
■ **discriminatory treatment at road-blocks and checkpoints in the occupied territories; and**

■ **unusually lengthy security checks when leaving the country.**

The most scandalous aspect of this story is the demonstrated unwillingness of the U.S. government to protect American citizens from Israeli harassment, or even to protest it. The silence of the media is equally reprehensible. The media, which rightfully raises a storm about the case of an American couple who are kidnapped and released unharmed by a bunch of outlaws in Sri Lanka, fails to notice when an American of Arab origin is tortured and his life endangered in one of the prisons of America's "strategic asset." This discrimination against Americans abroad is not more acceptable than discrimination at home. □

MR. SHULTZ,
DO YOU THINK
YOUR POSITION AT THE
BECHTEL GROUP
MAY HAVE UNDUE ARAB
INFLUENCE ON YOU
AS SECRETARY OF STATE?

P.S.-T
CAP
WHAT DOES
HE MEAN BY 'UNDUE INFLUENCE'?



PIO DENOUNCES ISRAELI TERRORISM

Alarmed by the growing campaign of intimidation and terror against Palestinians under Israeli occupation, such as the attempt to blow up Arab-owned buses in Jerusalem and the attack on Ein El-Hilweh Refugee camp, Mr. Hasan Abdul Rahman, Director of the Palestine Information Office in Washington, DC, told American and Arab reporters that living under Israeli occupation has become a life-threatening situation in the most concrete and literal meaning of the expression.

Mr. Rahman was critical of the U.S. media which continuously ignores the fact that Israeli oppression of Palestinians is a form of state-sponsored terrorism. He stated that large-scale organized Jewish terror-

ism is encouraged by official Israeli policy and practices as revealed by the Karp Commission. Rahman was also critical of American official acquiescence in the form of increased U.S. aid, political support and strategic cooperation with Israel.

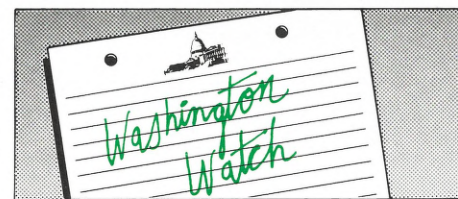
In his reference to the recently uncovered Jewish terrorist underground in the West Bank, Mr. Rahman said that Israel now has a private as well as a public sector in the field of terrorism. He placed direct responsibility for Israeli human rights violations on the U.S. government which subsidizes the settlers, the American Jewish community which supports them through tax-deductible donations and the mass media which affords them shelter from exposure and condemnation. □

AAUG: REMINDERS OF THE ONSLAUGHT

The Association of Arab-American University Graduates, in a press release issued on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, said that "the invasion has become occupation." Israel's repression of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples continues, the United States supplies the instruments of that repression, and "twenty-one independent Arab states seem so helpless and so forgiving that one cannot help but wonder whether their relationship with Israel's benefactor is masochistic."

The AAUG statement said that

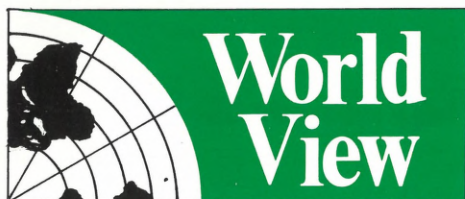
"murder, disappearance, and imprisonment are a daily occurrence in Southern Lebanon. Despite the public exchange of prisoners last year, the Al Ansar Prison Camp is again operating at full-scale level." Regarding the occupied West Bank and Gaza, the statement said that conditions continued to deteriorate. "The usurpation of land and water resources has reached new and threatening dimensions. Jewish terrorism in these occupied areas has become a serious threat to the daily life of the population. □



WORRIED ABOUT SHULTZ

Secretary of State George Shultz, once feared for his alleged pro-Arab inclination, is now the object of Jewish and Israeli concern as his influence in the Reagan administration diminishes as a consequence of the failure of his policy in Lebanon. When Shultz was appointed to succeed Alexander Haig, the Zionist lobby hit the panic button fearing that his Bechtel connections in the Arab world might jeopardize Israeli domination of U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. This fear quickly dissipated as Shultz assumed his responsibility at the State Department proving his close friendship and commitment to Israel.

The failure of U.S. policy in Lebanon, writes Wolf Blitzer, the *Jerusalem Post* Washington correspondent, has weakened Shultz and decreased his influence within the Reagan administration. Given Shultz's cooperation and support for Israel, according to Blitzer, Israeli officials are nervous about the campaign to further diminish Shultz's influence or to force him out of office. Such a development could spell trouble for Israel, particularly if Shultz is replaced by Caspar Weinberger who is considered anathema by the Zionist establishment in Washington and Tel Aviv. In his recent interview with the *New York Times Magazine*, Moshe Arens described Secretary of Defense Weinberger as "a prime candidate for psychoanalysis." He complained that Weinberger is too opinionated and stubborn. Arens was critical of his American counterpart's view of Israel as just one of many countries in the Middle East, all of which should be given equal time and consideration. Arens concluded by accusing Weinberger of having "a list of hang-ups about his Jewishness." Shultz, on the other hand, "is different. He's a decent man and a man of values. You can talk to him... We brought him a long way in understanding particular problems of the Middle East..." Arens said. □



PALESTINE: THE OSLO SYMPOSIUM

Arab, Jewish, and Scandinavian intellectuals and public figures convened a symposium on "Palestine and the Zionist State" from 2-4 April in Oslo, the Norwegian capital. The Symposium, which was organized by the Norwegian Committee of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, was addressed by Lord Caradon, former British envoy to the U.N. and principal author of Security Council Resolution 242; Dr. Israel Shahak, Hebrew University professor and chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights; Amnon Kapeliouk, Israeli journalist; Dr. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, Northwestern University professor; Ibrahim Dakkak, president of the Engineers Union in the West Bank; Raja Shehadeh, Palestinian lawyer from Ramallah; Abdeen Jabara, an American-Arab lawyer; Dr. Uri Davis, Israeli professor teaching in Britain; and the Israeli lawyer Lea Tsemel.

Lord Caradon, in his opening remarks, pointed out that resolution 242 was not intended to solve the Palestinian question, only to halt further deterioration of the Arab-Israeli conflict after the 1967 war. He said all U.N. resolutions, including those which recognized the right of the Palestinians to independent statehood, should be the framework for general peace. Only thus would independence for Lebanon, freedom for the Palestinians, and security for Israel be assured.

Mr. Jabara's legal analysis stressed Israel's conflict with the international community, its laws and will. Through repeated acts of aggression against its neighbors and persistent violations of the human rights of the Palestinian people, Israel has become a deviant from the international community.

Dr. Uri Davis addressed himself to Israel's economic policy, especially its water policy, which seeks to destroy Palestinian agriculture. He accused Israel of trying to starve the Palestinians out of their homeland.

Amnon Kapeliouk focused on the Israeli occupation of Lebanon, and contrasted Israel's image as the only democracy in the Middle East with its reality as a militaristic and oppressive power. And Dr. Abu-Lughod explained the savagery of Israel's aggression against the Palestinian people by saying that Israel's objective, repeatedly revealed and most recently during its invasion of Lebanon, is to uproot the Palestinians and even to eradicate their history. □

ISRAEL AND THE U.S. REJECT PEACE CONFERENCE

In his recent book, *The Fateful Triangle*, professor Noam Chomsky wrote that, contrary to prevailing misconceptions, the Arabs including the Palestinians have followed an accommodationist policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict while Israel and the United States pursued an increasingly rejectionist policy. This fact is clearly reflected in their responses to the recent proposal to convene an international conference to work for a negotiated peace settlement.

The proposal originated in the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, which was convened by the United Nations in Geneva in September 1983. The conference adopted a Declaration and a Program of Action, which included a call for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East.

The U.N. General Assembly adopted the resolutions of the Geneva Conference and, on 13 December 1983, it passed resolution 38/58C which called for an international peace conference on the Middle East. It also offered "guidelines" for the proposed peace conference, which sought to strike a balance between Palestinian rights and Israeli concerns. It called for the attainment of Palestinian national rights as well as the right of all states in the region to exist within secure and internationally recognized boundaries. It invited all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, the superpowers and "other concerned states" to participate in the peace conference.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations was directed to consult with the Security Council on the convening of the conference. In compliance with this directive, he addressed a letter, dated 5 January 1984, to the president of the Security Council, and on 9 March sent letters to all the members of the Security Council, as well as to the parties of the Arab-Israeli conflict who are not members of the Council (Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and the PLO).

Only Israel and the United States opposed the convening of an international peace conference. NATO members, France, Britain and Holland thought it was unadvisable to convene such a conference at this time on the grounds that the Arab and Israeli views should first be brought closer together, but they supported the idea of U.N. involvement and supported Palestinian rights [see box]. All the other parties consulted, including all the Arab states and the PLO, supported an international peace conference on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

One of the most curious myths about the Arab-Israeli conflict is the persistence of the belief, totally contradicted by the facts, that it is the Arabs who frustrate the Israeli-U.S. commitment to a negotiated political settlement. Israel and the United States stand alone in their opposition to an international peace conference to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict. □

YUGOSLAVIA WELCOMES ARAFAT

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and a high-ranking Palestinian delegation arrived in Belgrade on June 5 on an official visit to Yugoslavia. The Palestinian delegation was met by the Yugoslav president, foreign minister and other state officials as well as members of the diplomatic corps.

Talks were held between the Palestinian and Yugoslav sides, in which the Yugoslav president reaffirmed his coun-

try's support for the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. He reiterated Yugoslavia's belief that no solution to the Middle East conflict is possible without recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, including their rights to return to their homeland, to self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. □

YES TO PALESTINIAN NATIONAL RIGHTS

(The U.S.-Israeli opposition to international involvement in the search for peace in the Middle East stems from their desire to frustrate the international consensus in support of Palestinian rights. Following are excerpts from responses to the idea for a U.N. peace conference):

"Any initiative must provide for the exercise of the Palestinian people of their inalienable right to self-determination and to establish an independent state of their own."

Javier Arias Stella
Ambassador of Peru

"Justice for all peoples, which means that the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination with all its implications, must be reaffirmed."

Luc de La Barre de Nanteuil
Ambassador of France

"In order to be successful, the peace process should in our view be in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and with the principles of the right of existence and security of all States in the region, including Israel, and justice for all the peoples in the region, including recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination with all that this implies."

Max van der Stoep
Ambassador of the Netherlands

"Among the firm principles in which Lebanon believes is the principle of respect for the right of people to self-determination. Accordingly, Lebanon favors enabling the Palestinian people to exercise its right to self-determination, without which step there will be no peace in the Middle East region."

Rachid Fakhoury
Ambassador of Lebanon

"Britain and its partners in the European Community have set out on several occasions the main points on which we believe a negotiated peace should be based. These are the need to recognize explicitly and in practical ways the right of all States in the region, including Israel, to a secure existence, and justice for all the peoples of the region, including the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination."

J.A. Thompson
Ambassador of Britain

"In our view, the Palestinians have a right to return to their homes and property in Palestine from which they have been mercilessly displaced and uprooted. Their right to self-determination should be exercised without any external interference and, like other States in the region, the State of Palestine should be enabled to live in peace and security and follow its own domestic and foreign policies."

N. Krishnan
Ambassador of India

"Believing in the justice of the Palestinian cause and the legitimacy of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, in particular their right to self-determination and to establish their independent State in Palestine, and in the responsibility of all States to respect these rights... Egypt believes that the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East would constitute a major turning-point on the path towards the achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the problem of the Middle East and its core, the problems of Palestine...."

Ahmed T. Khalil
Ambassador of Egypt

"The Chinese Government will agree with and support all measures, propositions and efforts that are conducive to ensuring the Israeli withdrawal from all the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, including Arab Jerusalem, and the restoration to the Palestinian people of their inalienable national rights, including the right to return to their homeland, the right to self-determination and the right to establish their own state, which will lead to a durable peace in the Middle East."

Liang Yufan
Ambassador of China

"Life itself and the practical experience of many years have convincingly demonstrated that peace can be restored to the Middle East only through collective efforts by all the parties interested in reaching a settlement, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

O. Troyanovsky
Ambassador of the U.S.S.R.

"My Government believes that the central objective of this proposed conference should be directed towards a peaceful and fair solution to the present unacceptable plight of the homeless Palestinian people."

In an ideal world, they should never have been subjected to the tribulations that they have had to undergo—but they have.

In a less than ideal world, the problem caused by the displacement of the Palestinian people should have been settled by now—but it has not."

V.J. Gauci
Ambassador of Malta

"Nicaragua has vehemently maintained, in the international arena, the need and the duty to find a just, lasting and peaceful solution to the problems of the Middle East. A key issue in this situation is the Palestinian question, to which there can be no solution without recognition of and respect for the right to existence of the Palestinian people and the need to restore to them their inalienable national rights, including the right to recover their own territory and to establish their own State."

Javier Chamorro Mora
Ambassador of Nicaragua

FOR THE RECORD: ISRAEL'S WAR IN LEBANON

Two books appeared recently in Israel on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Both of them have been described by the (Israeli) International Center for Peace in the Middle East as a "well-documented indictment" of the Israeli invasion. The Center's statement said of the two books that they "confirmed what had long been known though officially denied: that the Lebanon 'peace operation' was from start to finish (?) a fraud perpetrated on the public, the government and, not least, on the soldiers of the Israeli Defense Forces—nearly 600 of whom have so far paid for it with their lives, while well over 3,000 others have been wounded."

The first book, *War of Deception*, was written by Ze'ev Schiff, the military affairs correspondent of the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz*, and Ehud Yaari, Israel Television correspondent on Arab affairs. The authors attributed the Israeli invasion to the breakdown of the system of checks and balances in the Israeli decision-making process. This breakdown, they said, occurred during Begin's second term in office, when a "monolithically hawkish political-security leadership" emerged in the Israeli government, led by Ariel Sharon. The authors said that "a highly unusual form of *putsch*" occurred in Israel which enabled the militarists to harness the democratic facade in Israel.

The second book, *Snowball*, by Shimon Shiffer, the political correspondent of Israel Radio, gives revealing details about the Israeli-Phalangist complicity in the massacre of Palestinian civilians, and their efforts to coordinate the subsequent cover-up. The author says that the Israeli chief of staff met with Phalangist leaders in Beirut and asked them to admit responsibility, because "Everyone is pointing an accusing finger at Israel," which may cause Israel to withdraw from Beirut. The Israelis advised the Phalangists to "explain that this isn't your policy, that what happened was an outburst of anger among your soldiers after Bashir's assassination." □

ISRAEL TO EVICT BLACK HEBREWS

Israel is "progressing" from a state for Jews only to a state for white Jews. It plans to expel the small community of "Black Hebrews" who live in Israel. *The Jerusalem Post* (May 6-13, 1984) quoted Don Shilansky, deputy minister in the Israeli prime minister's office, saying that "in a very short time, the Black Hebrews will not be here anymore." The Israeli paper continued: "Asked if this statement was official, Shilansky replied that it was."

The Black Hebrew community in Israel is estimated to include 900-3,000 persons. □



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**Palestine
Research
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Educational
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818 18th Street, NW
Suite 645
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